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ABSTRACT

This research report (excerpts from the author's dissertation) explores the question of whether the role of the school is to socialize the young to our present political norms, or to go further and introduce the young to new ways of thinking and possibly to new alternatives and values. The study investigates the elementary school teacher to discover what he perceives to be his role in civil training, to ascertain his feelings as to the possibility of change, to discover what kinds of risks he will take, and to determine what specific classroom activities he will or will not do. A literature review highlights relevant research on civic training and political socialization of the young--the role of the school, the teacher, the curriculum. An analysis of the data gathered is given in the concluding chapter. The author cites educational needs for the development of an elementary political science curriculum, a less conservative plan geared toward better helping the student to deal with problems of modern society. (Author/SHM)

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THE ROLE OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHER IN THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

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PREFACE

In October 1970, the Joint Research Committee of the California Association of School Administrators, the California Association of Secondary School Administrators, the California Elementary School Administrators Association and the California Teachers Association voted to sponsor a study by Virginia T. Franklin of the San Rafael Union High School District. This endorsement consisted of consultation in the areas of research design and the drawing of a sample of elementary teachers throughout California (grades 1-6).

This study analyzed the role of the elementary teacher in the political socialization process. Particular emphasis was placed upon the teacher's responses as to the kinds of risks he or she would be willing to take in matters of direct concern to the teaching profession, and to the kinds of activities in his or her classroom which dealt with matters of political reality rather than ideology.

In March 1972, Virginia T. Franklin completed her degree requirements and was awarded her doctorate from the University of California, Berkeley.

The Research Department of the California Teachers Association feels that the findings of this study are most relevant to our modern day educational scene. Therefore, the department is most pleased to have received permission from Dr. Franklin to publish chapters I, II and V of her doctoral dissertation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
CHAPTER I	Introduction.	1
CHAPTER II	Review of the Literature.	9
CHAPTER V	Conclusions	130

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The advent of the eighteen-year-old vote has flooded our literature with speculation as to how the young will affect the political power structure and speculation as to the role of the public school in value determination for the young. There is evident an inherent relationship between the schools and public policy, but the question is whether the role of the school is to socialize the young to our present political norms, or to go further and introduce the young to new ways of thinking, possibly to new alternatives and values. The implications of such a role have been the topic of philosophers from Plato to Dewey to such innovators as A. S. Neill and Neil Postman,[1] including Carl Rogers and the behaviorists.

In increasing numbers, political scientists have turned to the process of political socialization, attested to by the wealth of literature dealing with the power elites and the voting behavior of the members of society. The systems approach to analysis of the political process has given us new dimensions of the meaning of political socialization. According to a common definition, political socialization refers to an individual's adaptation to society's political system and includes the study of the

norms and attitudes, behavior and practices which allow an individual to become a functioning member of society. Continuity of the system is stressed rather than disfunction.[2]

Need for this Study

Recently political scientists and educators have become increasingly concerned with change. The awareness of rapid change has resulted in recognition that it is not sufficient to teach mere indoctrination to a system, rather an individual must learn to prepare for and adapt to change. A political system is considered stable when most members of a society can accept the decisions of its policy makers most of the time. However, it is obvious to most of us that we are living in a time when instability may well be the order of the day. Thus system change becomes as important as system maintenance.

The implications of this statement for the public schools are enormous, involving many issues and problems inherent in a pluralistic society, such as academic freedom, concern about "dangerous innovation," students being exposed to new ideas, and teachers with values different than those of parents. If the school is to represent the society, then it must function as a microcosm of that society. That society does not have a monolithic system of beliefs. Our task then is to educate for acceptance of diversity and change, for understanding conflict between minority and majority rights. Although consensus and harmony may result

from compromise within the system, disillusionment resulting from the inability to discover such harmony is more evident today.

Thus it will be a major thesis of this study that the role of the elementary school will be education for stability within the democratic system, while considering alternatives which lend themselves to system change as well as system maintenance. Such an educational function must prepare the student for committed action, not alienation, which is not often the concern of the public school. Ironically, educators talk of voting and participation in the political and social processes as desirable, but our school system silently perpetuates apathy. Teachers who discuss controversial issues in class are apologetic should they by chance show their own feelings, thus conveying to students the idea that personal commitment may be dangerous, if not evil. Elementary students are considered too young for exposure to political and social problems, and parents believe their children are too immature to handle ideas inimical to those perpetuated in the home. Thus the schools have become a "pipeline for deadening dogma" rather than a forum for discussion and ideas. Such indoctrination is not valid in a pluralistic society.

Rationale for the Study

Recent research on how individuals become politicized emphasizes that the political man is made, not born. The

basic foundations of such maturation include political loyalties and attachments, specific knowledge and feelings toward political institutions, and an acquisition of transient views toward specific policies and personalities and events. As the individual has social experiences that lead him into the world of politics, he acquires part of his political awareness through a developmental process. Children often pick up values passively rather than by initiating their own socialization. Much of a child's political world has begun to take shape before he enters school, but the most rapid change in his political socialization takes place during the elementary school years.[3] For this reason, special emphasis must be placed upon the political world of the elementary school teacher, who, either through direct or indirect means, will affect the student through curriculum, specific citizenship training and his own values and attitudes.

The teacher represents to the child an authoritative spokesman for society, an institutional pattern, a person whom the student should obey. The teacher is expected to be a model of behavior and a disseminator of social values acceptable in society. Teachers are products of the same political socialization process for which they are agents. A lack of congruity between what the teacher does and what he says can lead to later alienation of the student and to his distrust of the political system. Preferably, a teacher should be aware of his own incongruity and discuss it with

his students rather than to pretend to be the model of a system which does not actually exist.

An individual in today's world is an individual involved in the process of change. He is continually learning. If he is to meet constructively the challenges of a world in which problems appear faster than answers, he must learn to live comfortably with change. Facing the new might be more important than being able to repeat the old. Carl Rogers expresses the assumption that "The most socially useful learning in the modern world is the learning of the process of learning, a continuing openess to experience, an incorporation into oneself of the process of change."[4]

An individual facing new changes must of necessity make value determinations. Such a process requires that a person be aware of his own values and commitments. It is the contention of most modern educators that the problem-solving, inquiry method is most suitable for such an analysis. Rote-learning and the teacher centered classroom have proved to be ineffectual in producing creative thinking and a comfortable adaptation to change.

In order for such learning to take place, the student must be the self-initiator and the teacher the facilitator. The teacher must relinquish his traditional role of authority in the classroom and become the sensitive, sympathetic and enthusiastic helper. The teacher and the student are involved in inquiry, with the resources of the community made

available to the learning process. Students must learn to be responsible for and take the consequences of their own decisions and actions, thus setting a pattern for the role they will play in their own community. This will be the pattern for new civic education instruction in the schools, and teacher preparing institutions must be responsible for giving teachers the experiences needed to become facilitators of learning.

Before one can expect to institute change he must look at what exists. It is the purpose of this investigation to look at the elementary school teacher and discover what he perceives to be his role in civic training, to ascertain his feelings as to the possibility of change, to discover what kinds of risks he will take and, most important, to determine what specific classroom activities he will or will not do.

Summary

In order to do this, questions were formulated, based upon Edgar Litt's analysis of three modes of citizenship training.[5] Teachers were asked to respond to what they considered to be the primary objectives of the teaching of citizenship. Direct questions were asked of all teachers surveyed as to their political participation in the community and in professional organizations as well as their orientation to politics while on the campus of their choice, both

in graduate and undergraduate schools. Analysis of variance between ages, types of graduate institutions and years of teaching experience were made with the amount of political activity indicated by the teacher. An attempt will be made to discover if any pattern exists for promoting political activity of the teacher.

To determine whether a teacher who considers himself conservative, as opposed to one who considers himself liberal, actually is such on a liberal-conservative scale, a series of questions were asked to place teachers on a scale which measured classic conservatism. Results from this determination will be analyzed in comparison with what the teachers indicated they do in the classroom, and in education and community politics. A high level of significance, if found in this analysis, might indicate to the school administrators which teachers may be better qualified to deal with change, and may indicate as well the direction for teacher preparation.

The next chapter will deal with what we know about the role of the teacher in the political socialization process. The following chapters will deal with the methodology and findings of this study, and the concluding chapter will discuss specific curriculum recommendations for teacher education.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I

[1] A. S. Neill, Summerhill, A Radical Approach to Child Rearing (New York: Hart Publishing Company, 1960); Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner, Teaching as a Subversive Activity (New York: Delacorte Press, 1969).

[2] Roberta Sigel, "Assumptions about the Learning of Political Values," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. 361 (September 1965), pp. 1-9.

[3] Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967), p. 114.

[4] Carl Rogers, "The Facilitation of Significant Learning," Contemporary Theories of Instruction, ed. Laurence Siegel (Chandler Publishing Company, 1969), p. 10.

[5] Edgar Litt, "Education and Political Enlightenment in America," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 311 (September 1965), pp. 32-39.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Theoretical Background

Although the specific term, political socialization, is fairly new to the field of political science, the connotation is not. In Plato's Republic much stress is placed upon the importance of early civic training as a means of maintaining loyalty to the established power. As long as diverse ideologies have existed, political theorists have raised questions regarding political training and indoctrination of the masses.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 caused economic theorists to begin to relate more directly the economic and political aspects of the conflict between individualism and the state. Most writers in the social studies area felt that indoctrination of the masses to gain support for the state was the antithesis of a free and open society, yet indoctrination for democracy was not an evil. In the early 1920's the University of Chicago sponsored a ten-year study in civic education and brought forth the famous "green box" and "brown box"[1] which package was expected to perform the miracle of teaching students of government the duties and responsibilities of the "good" citizen. The 1940's, of necessity, brought forth a large group of political

theorists who concerned themselves with academic freedom and indoctrination, totalitarianism and the open society. There was little, if any doubt in American schools during this period that the only good society was the democratic society and the evil society was the fascist society epitomized by Hitler's Germany. During the 1950's McCarthy and his followers were responsible for silencing much of the academic community; political indoctrination against socialism and the Soviet Union was common in American classrooms.

Data Based Research

During the late 1950's social scientists in this country studied voting behavior with particular reference to economic and sociological conditions of the country. The study of voting behavior could not be separated from a person's economic condition and social environment, thus necessitating inter-disciplinary studies. It became increasingly apparent that students of political socialization must rely upon other behavioral disciplines in order to study the field of general socialization.[2]

The School and the Child

Of more direct impact on the present study are books which deal with the way in which children learn about and

perceive politics. Because these studies have led directly to a further investigation of the teacher's role, it is imperative that the contribution of these authors be noted for some of their main findings.

Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney published The Development of Political Attitudes in Children[3] in 1967 and studied elementary students specifically. Hess categorized the specific classroom learning which politicizes the child into four main parts: (1) the development of beliefs and knowledge about the political system; (2) the knowledge and belief about the political process and structure as the child knows it; (3) the child's emotions and feelings which surround political issues; and (4) the development of assumptions as children's viewpoints are elaborated upon. The findings from the Hess and Torney study and other major studies in the development of children's attitudes constitute the remainder of this chapter.

Approximately 12,000 children in elementary grades two through eight were selected for testing in one large city and one small city of each major region in the United States. These children, approximately 1500 from each city, answered an hour-long questionnaire during 1961-62. The children's teacher answered a similar questionnaire, but one which described curriculum practices. The questionnaires given to second and third grades were shorter. From this study political scientists gained a clearer view of the developmental pattern of political socialization.

The Survey Research Center at Ann Arbor, Michigan, conducted two high school studies, one by Langton and Jennings in 1965[4] and the other by Jennings and Niemi in 1968.[5] Nearly 1700 students as well as teachers and parents and school officials were interviewed. The focus of this study was directly upon high school, but it bore important relationships to civic training in elementary school. Greenstein,[6] in 1965, studied presidential images of New Haven school children which increased the knowledge of specific developmental patterns in the area of politics. Easton and Dennis[7] of Chicago studied the Hess and Torney data and then used it for an analysis to show that schools support the political system. These major studies have importance for the teacher of the elementary child in the area of civic training and competence.

Major Findings of Hess and Torney

Hess and Torney found that the child develops an early attachment to the nation, an attachment which undergoes little change in the elementary school. The terms "democracy" and "America" are closely associated, but not cognitively understood. The child sees communism as a threat to America and rated it one of the most important problems facing our country. The specific ideology of communism and the difference between our political system and a communist system is not perceived.

The feeling that the child has about his country may be linked to his feeling of dependence upon his family and may stem from early childhood feelings about this family. School lends a positive support to the child's attachment which is represented by the symbols of the flag and the Statue of Liberty. Even a second grade child in school is able to differentiate between the symbols as to what stands for government and what stands for his country. As children become older, their concepts of nationalism depend less on concrete symbols and more on word symbols and abstractions. The United States is not seen clearly as part of an international system until the later grades. It is the belief of Hess and Torney that children in the earlier grades have an unrealized capability to deal with the diversity existing in other cultures without placing value judgments.

Young children view political systems as though they consisted of one or two persons; a personal relationship is formed in the child's mind. Children also attribute qualities of goodness and kindness to the authority figures in their government. As children grow older their perceptions change, and the older children view the president in a more impersonal manner. Older children are also able to deal with competence needed for the office of the President as well as personal characteristics which might be desirable.

Young children do not view the Supreme Court as a source of personal protection as they do the President. The older child begins to perceive the importance of the function of

the individual rather than the name of a specific politician; this distinction is important in maintaining the system. The importance of the President as conceptualized by the child is not determined primarily by classroom learning, but by other factors which he perceives via the mass media. Part of his reaction to the presidency is his reaction to authority as learned at home and in school.

The Curriculum in the Political Socialization Process

Children's perceptions and feelings about dealing with bureacracy are viewed by Hess and Torney as developing through an awareness of loyalty and obedience. In their study young children saw a good citizen as one "whose house is clean and polite."[8] Obeying laws and giving support to visible authority figures is an important phase of the elementary child's political socialization. What the child learns about appropriate roles in his home and in school is eventually incorporated into social systems, among these the political system. For this reason, Hess and Torney believe the school to be the most important agent of political socialization.

The Teacher's Role in Political Socialization

In the following table from the Hess and Torney study, the teacher's role in the political socialization process is explained. The teacher in the primary grade places the

greatest stress on duties of the citizen; he believes that his major task is "to socialize children into obedience; this stress continues throughout the elementary school years."[9] The stress is laid upon the ideals of democracy, not the realities, thus fostering development of trust in the government.

The child perceives his role in democracy as a voting member to be very significant; pressure groups and power elites are not known to him, a fact partly due to the level of cognitive learning reached by the child. The teacher, however, has this information but does not impart it.[10] Whereas teachers and students were much alike in their beliefs about the ideal situation regarding participation in democracy, they differed in their view of realities and in their interests in political issues. This fact led Hess and Torney to believe that the socialization which occurs in the elementary school is primarily concerned with the acceptance of beliefs about how a citizen should act and with the development of positive feelings toward the country and the persons representing authority to the student. Facts about the realities of politics and an analysis of political issues are considered only slightly and very simplistically in the elementary school. Hess and Torney felt that the dichotomy between idealism and reality might create disillusionment in the child which could be more destructive than if he had had a rudimentary and more balanced picture of the

TABLE 1*

TEACHERS'S DESCRIPTION OF CURRICULUM BY GRADE TAUGHT

(Percentage of Teachers of Grades 2 through 6 who Reported Spending More than Three Hours of Class Per Year on Each of the Following Sub-Topics in Social Studies)

		TOPICS								
		Citizen Role			Branches of Government			International Organization	More Controversial Issues	
Grade Taught	N	Duties of Citizen (e.g., to obey law)	Rights of Citizen (e.g., to express opinion)	Citizen's Power to Influence Government	President	Congress	Supreme Court	United Nations	Political Parties	Politicians
2	24	45.8	4.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
3-4	34	44.1	20.6	6.5	8.8	0.0	0.0	9.1	3.0	0.0
5-6	40	61.5	28.2	12.5	28.2	17.5	17.9	37.5	15.4	7.7
7-8	23	59.1	60.9	26.1	65.2	65.2	60.9	43.5	43.5	17.4

Note: Teachers reported number of hours spent on each topic.

* This Table is Table 3, p. 22, of the Torney and Hess manuscript.

realities of political life. A broader consideration of the diversity of opinions on public issues will perhaps transfer over to adult citizenship and better prepare him for value determination.

Children and Partisan Views

Children see voting as the only way to influence the government; other methods of persuasion do not occur to them. They are confused when they discover that they cannot influence the government alone. They do not understand that most political decisions are frequently made without resolving all of the conflicting views. They do not see the political party as a mobilizer of conflict.

A significant fact discovered by Hess and Torney was that as children progressed through the elementary grades, they developed less partisan commitment; teachers have a similar view. They vote for the man, not the party. This may suggest that teachers may be giving political parties a lesser role than they deserve in evaluating the efficacy of the political process. Eighth grade children assert their independence about voting the straight party ticket and at the same time discount the effectiveness of the party in the political process.[11]

In his study made in 1965, Greenstein found out that only half of the eighth graders he interviewed could suggest a single difference between the two parties.[12] In another

study, Jennings and Niemi concluded that the meaning of partisan support becomes more meaningful in the high school years.[13] Hess and Torney clarify the reasons for this problem in the following way:

> Teachers impress upon children that good citizens consider candidate qualifications above partisan orientations (though teachers themselves are somewhat reticent to discuss the candidate qualifications related to their own choices.) This may be another situation where the agents of socialization stress the ideal operation of the system (free from partisan tarnish and conflict) without suggesting to the children necessary ways of coping with the real world they may subsequently face. Children's uncertainty about where to turn for information about candidates and rejection of media information as well as influence from parents or teachers, suggests that they are absorbing an ideal of independence without the necessary support to maintain behavior fulfilling the ideal. Children in school particularly need to learn about effective channels for information and for action which has a reasonable probability of producing change.[14]

Limitations of Hess and Torney Study

The Hess and Torney study, although very useful, has limitations. In a special issue of the Harvard Educational Review devoted to political socialization, David O. Sears of the University of California at Los Angeles reviews the Hess and Torney book and points out what he considered to be some major fallacies.[15]

An important limitation of the study is that no Negro children were sampled. In studies conducted by Dwaine Marvick[16] on the political socialization the Negro, it was satisfactorily proved that there is no equal experience

between white and black. A study without a Negro sample is unfortunate in this respect. In comparing the teacher's responses to those of the students, no attempt was made to establish a co-variance analysis between the teacher and his specific students. It is conceivable that all adults could feel as teachers do. One of the major criticisms of the work is that it bases its definition of complete socialization on the adoption of an agreed upon set of goals. Many attitudes of individuals are unstable and made from random experiences. Hess and Torney do not make any concession that the children in their sample could be responding superficially to matters they care little or less about. Therefore, the agreement so strongly stressed in the study that government is good and the President is good could be a matter of no consequence to the child. No follow-up was made to find out if attitudes persisted.

Other Aspects Affecting Political Socialization

In addition to the specific effects which a teacher or the curriculum may have upon a child, other differences such as social class, intelligence, sex and religious affiliation have been studied for some time. Greenstein concluded that lower status children in the crucial years of late elementary school are less likely to begin to feel that they have efficacy in making political choices.[17] In a study conducted

in 1967, Jaros[18] found few social class differences and not many more attributed to racial differences. Even when social class was held constant, Hess and Torney found considerable difference in intelligence levels. The older children of high intelligence approximate the teacher's attitudes and base their conceptualization of government upon other than personalities. Brighter children in all classes were more likely to see the need for change as motivating candidates for public office. The recognition of the fallibility of government on the part of brighter students may be the reason for some of the student unrest in the high schools as well as on the campus. Students from higher social class also tend to discuss political issues more because their parents may be more willing to discuss politics at home with them. For the student who has not been prepared at home and who does not have a high cognitive level of ability, new ways of preparation for citizenship must be devised. Such students cannot see the whole and are more likely to look at a problem from their own perspective. If problems are constructed at their level and from their own experience, they are more likely to be able to deal with an analysis of issues.

A few major sex differences occurred between boys and girls. Boys were more likely to be concerned with political issues and were less interpersonal and were more likely to see a need for change rather than to accept the status quo.

These differences are seen on an adult level in basic political socialization research as well as in Greenstein's findings.[19]

Methods of Political Socialization

In analyzing how political socialization takes place, Hess and Torney propose four models: The first, called the accumulation model, simply means exposing children to symbols, ideas and attitudes; they will accumulate them. The implication here is that the child is the passive model and has little of his own needs to express. The second model is called the identification model wherein the child by his own volition emulates his parents and identifies with the symbols of his parents. This type of model is accredited with providing the continuity of support for the system from generation to generation. In school the child can identify with the teacher's attitudes, the curriculum, and the attitudes of his peers and in some ways may change his attitudes from those imprinted upon him by the home. A third model, the role transfer model, stresses the behavior and goals a child may have as a result of his experiences in different roles--a boy or girl as an only child, or as a twin, or in his role as a pupil in school. He brings different motivations to each of these roles which he may be forced to play throughout the day. In this respect the teacher too may feel that students have preconceived ideas

and role expectations of their teachers. These mutual expectations and an understanding of them provides the child with some of the realistic skills he will need in his political socialization. The fourth, the cognitive model, stresses certain aspects of the older child's ability to deal with abstract and more complex aspects of his social world. The child's capacity to reason has a direct influence upon his socialization. The teacher needs to be aware of these levels of conceptual ability.

David Easton and Jack Dennis in their work entitled "Politics in the School Curriculum" state:

> We maintain that children know and have feelings about many more areas of political life than we give them credit for. We vastly underestimate the readiness of the child to cope with the avowedly complex aspect of the society that we call the political system. As we come to appreciate the nature of these political areas, we should expect that the curriculum itself will recognize and build on the obvious capacity of the child to receive formal instruction about these subjects.[20]

The role of the classroom teacher in building curriculum to a large degree depends upon the perspective that teachers have of the capabilities and maturity level of their students. Just how the teacher perceives his role in the process of political socialization has been barely researched. Hess and Torney's table duplicated here (Table 1, page 16) gives us insight to this aspect. Although much has been done of late on political attitudes of children, little has been done on the elementary teacher who must play the agent of his socialization in school. One study on the

Oregon high school teacher was completed by Harmon Zeigler in 1966.[21] This study gives us some illumination on teachers generally and had a direct impact on the decision to undertake the present study.

Harmon Zeigler chose to make the sex of the teacher his dependent variable. In studying the political behavior of teachers he observed the interaction of presumed differences in the societal roles assigned to men and women. Because more men are in high school teaching, he concentrated on the secondary level. A second point of emphasis in his study is the impact of social mobility upon the teaching profession. In order for the teacher to be secure in his role, he feels he must be a conservative, leaning toward the Republican party, and behave in a socially acceptable manner.

A third point of emphasis in Zeigler's study is the role the teacher plays in formal organization work of the teaching profession; and fourth, the perceptions a teacher has in relation to community sanctions. Zeigler's conclusions, which are listed in the appendix, will be compared to the conclusions in this dissertation.

Summary

The concept of civic training is not a new one. Change has occurred in emphasis only. Interdisciplinary

studies have produced a wealth of information about our voting behavior and about the general socialization of our citizens. Studies have been written which perceive the manner in which children learn about politics, and a developmental pattern of political socialization emerges which tends to show that the schools are significant in developing support for our political system. Responses to authority are learned and our political institutions are supported by children in elementary school. Stress is placed upon the ideals of democracy rather than the realities; pressure groups and power elites are not known to the elementary school child and the curriculum fosters ideals of how a citizen should act rather than how he does act. It is this dichotomy between idealism and reality which may lead to later alienation on the part of the student who feels he has been "lied to."

This study will emphasize the role of the elementary teacher in the political socialization process with the expectation of making recommendations. The next chapter will deal with the hypotheses developed from the review of the literature and will outline the methodology of the study.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II

[1] Charles E. Merriam, The Making of Citizens: A Comparative Study of Methods of Civic Training (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931).

A ten year study at the University of Chicago was conducted to provide teachers with better materials in citizenship training. Teachers who wished to participate were provided with a green box of indexed cards by subject matter which provided suggested activities for students in the political arena. A brown box contained bibliographical references to the subject areas under study and were cross referenced with the cards in the green box. Many of these activities were valuable and provided me with my first effective teaching materials.

[2] Bernard Berelson, Paul Lazarfield, William McPhee, Voting (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954); Herbert H. Hyman, Political Socialization: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behavior (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1958); Angus Campbell, P. E. Converse, W. E. Miller, and D. E. Stokes, The American Voter (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960); Philip E. Jacob, Changing Values in College: An Exploratory Study of the Impact of College Teaching (New York: Harpers, 1957); V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961); Robert E. Lane, Political Life (New York: The Free Press, 1959); Seymour Lipset, Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1959); Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1963); and H. H. Remmers and D. H. Radler, The American Teenager (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957).

[3] Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, passim.

[4] Kenneth P. Langton and M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States," American Political Science Review, 62 (1968) pp. 852 - 67.

[5] M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "The Transmission of Values from Parent to Child," The American Political Science Review, 62 (1968) pp. 169 - 84.

[6] Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965).

[7] David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969).

[8] Judith V. Torney and Robert D. Hess, "Teachers, Students and Political Attitude Development" (manuscript to be published as a chapter in Psychology and the Educational Process, ed. George Lesser [Glenview, Illinois: Scott Foresman Company] p. 18).

[9] Torney and Hess, "Teachers, Students and Political Attitude Development" p. 21. (The numbering in the manuscript is incorrect and what purports to be page 21 is actually page 20. This is true of all pages following page 21. The numbering here reflects the actual numbering as it appears on the manuscript.)

[10] Ibid., p. 27.

[11] Ibid., p. 35.

[12] Ibid., p. 36.

[13] Ibid., p. 36.

[14] Ibid., p. 37.

[15] David O. Sears, "Book Review," Harvard Educational Review, 38 (Summer 1968) pp. 571 - 77.

[16] Dwaine Marvick, "The Political Socialization of the American Negro," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 361 (September 1965) pp. 112-27.

[17] Greenstein, p. 106.

[18] Dean Jaros, "Children's Orientations Toward the President: Some Additional Theoretical Considerations and Data," Journal of Politics 29 (1967) pp. 368-87.

[19] Greenstein, passim.

[20] David Easton and Jack Dennis, "Politics in the School Curriculum," The American School as a Political System, ed. Frederick M. Wirt and Michael W. Kirst (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1972), p. 73.

[21] Harmon Zeigler, The Political World of the High School Teacher (Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon Press, 1966).

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Implications of the Study

The analysis of the data of this study substantiates the work done on the role of the teacher in the political socialization of the child. As Hess and Torney and Dennis and Easton have clearly pointed out, the teacher feels his role is to teach the child respect for authority, the rights, duties and obligations of citizenship and that harmony prevails in our democratic society. The conflicts which are apparent in our society are not stressed, if even mentioned. What is necessary at this point is to suggest what may be done in the classroom and by the teacher to better meet the needs of the children in dealing with the realities of the political world. A significant change in curriculum is not achieved by teachers alone, but by teacher education institutions, subject matter specialists, professional organizations and administrators who help the community develop awareness of the need for change.

Old Models of Civic Training are Still Being Used

Old models of civic training are still being used in our public schools. Teachers in the elementary schools are still teaching about the ideal democracy and are not dealing with issues or preparing the student to look at alternatives

and to develop highly specialized skills of problem solving. Curriculum materials which stress the inquiry process are available. Social science conferences held within the state have stressed the process of inquiry. For example, as early as 1966, Donald Oliver and James Shaver published a volume entitled Teaching Public Issues in the High School.[1] The rationale developed for their content selection in a high school curriculum parallels the thinking of most of the recent critics of content selection in the elementary school. It is a conclusion of this study that one need not have a separate rationale for elementary social studies and that the rationale developed by Oliver and Shaver is satisfactory for a curriculum change in civic training.

Problem of Pluralism

If one believes that a basic purpose of American government is to promote the dignity and worth of each individual[2] who lives in a society, then the concept of human dignity has two components; to protect the individuality of the person and at the same time to provide a national community to handle the common problems of the society. Thus, while the government is obligated to protect minority rights, at the same time by adopting one alternative over another, it may destroy a particular minority. Since in a pluralistic society, there is no single revealed "truth," the teacher must accept a variety

of ideals and creeds as to what does protect the human dignity of the individual. How then does one promote values of pluralism and diversity on one hand and at the same time try to discover areas of commonality in attempting to resolve conflicts? Students in elementary school need to understand the nature and structure of values held to be important by diverse elements of the society.

If there is to be any cohesion or commonality in a society which deals with a multiplicity of sub-groups, then members of all sub-groups must to some extent share value commitments and a vocabulary which will allow them to deal with common problems. This commonality must include procedures for the mediation of conflict and the sharing and choosing of alternatives.

Necessity of Dealing with Conflict

It is the conclusion of this study that the elementary school social studies curriculum must deal with conflict analysis and provide a conceptual framework for the understanding of contemporary American problems. Students need to learn the kinds of problems they will encounter as they attempt to make ethical analyses of public issues. They need to recognize that they will feel uncomfortable when such inconsistencies are brought to their attention. Human beings tend to handle inconsistencies by avoiding them. This has been true of the elementary curriculum in the social studies. However, it is apparent that the elementary

curriculum must be structured so that it includes a process for conflict resolution. Teaching students a rational approach to analysis of conflict should include the following concepts.

1. Assumptions are necessary and unavoidable and are frequently not recognized by others or by ourselves.

2. Language provides the basic means for thinking and communicating about public issues and therefore the understanding of the nature of words must be communicated. For different individuals words bring forth different emotions. This fact can be easily understood at the elementary level. Language problems can interfere with communication and thinking.

3. Settling disputes as to what constitutes fact is a major task in problem solving. Elementary students can be exposed to such disputed claims as to who discovered America first.

4. Each person has his own frame of reference from which he views a problem. The student should try to understand his own. He should also be taught that the teacher has his own frame of reference, and it should be the obligation of the teacher to make his frame of reference clear to the students. Teachers should express their views.

5. Students and teachers will recognize that relevance for the present is not necessarily relevance for the future. Values of one age are not necessarily the values of another age.

6. Students and teachers must learn to look at alternatives and weigh the "cost"; they must determine what values are involved and sacrificed by choosing one alternative against another. Recognition of values is basic. Evaluating and placing one value above another involves a more complex operation.

7. Tactics need to be differentiated from values.

8. Open discussion of problems will of necessity put before the student conflicting values but at the

> same time he will be able to discover shared values. Students and teachers will sometimes discover that their values are no longer valid or not applicable to a certain situation. Rather than becoming upset over such a finding, students should be taught to deal with it.

The above approach to conflict resolution is applicable to all levels of education. None of it is new; much of it is based upon the recommendations of Oliver and Shaver. What is new is a conclusion of this study: that these same approaches should be applied to the elementary level. Problems and conflicts which merge within the school room could serve as a vehicle for analysis. Interest in the Presidential election in 1972 could be the focus for a more realistic approach to politics in the upper elementary grades.

New Curriculum Ideas

Available curriculum ideas written by persons directly involved in elementary education stress concepts similar to what experts in secondary education have been saying. V. Phillips Weaver, in an article entitled "Law and Order: Conflict and Dissent in the Primary Grades,"[3] gives examples of situations in the primary grades which can lead to a child's understanding of concepts vital to democracy. He stresses that young children should be involved in the formulation of classroom rules and should express themselves freely as to what kinds of rules are needed. He stresses that decisions made by children should be theirs and not those manipulated by teachers. He stresses that

role playing is a legitimate means of teaching students the difference between such concepts as obedience and conformity and apathy and alienation. Role-playing can help students to clarify their values. An example of such could be a situation in which the child acts out the role of a "good" and a "bad" policeman. The teacher's role in such activities is that of a skilled questioner. An analysis of a situation portrayed by various members of the class can bring out consideration of alternatives and can enable students to become aware of their own values. Students will come to realize that conflict and dissent are central to any pluralistic society.

The Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education of the American Political Science Association which was formed in the Spring of 1970 had as its purpose two general responsibilities: to provide an assessment of the discipline of political science's interrelationship with elementary and secondary education and to implement long range strategy through which resources of the discipline can be brought to bear more effectively upon the reform of political science education at the elementary and secondary levels. Implications for teacher education will also be reported by this group. No specific proposals have yet come from the group, but of particular interest to this study is the publication of Materials for Civics, Government and Problems of Democracy by Mary Jane Turner.[4]

The University of Colorado and the American Political Science Association engaged Mary Jane Turner to undertake an exhaustive survey of innovative secondary social studies curriculum materials which contain political science subject matter. Although the emphasis was upon secondary education certain elementary projects were surveyed because they were contained in a single project of K-9 or K-12, as the case may be. In substantiating the need for such a study, the American Political Science Association pointed to the results of the Education Commission of States which made a report in July of 1970 assessing the national scene in civic education.[5] The report stressed the fact that Americans are ignorant about the structure and functions of government and the strategies of effective political activity.

The University of California at Los Angeles's Committee on Civic Education undertook a project for grades 4 through 12 which stresses that American political behavior and constitutional law should be the organizer for the course in politics in all grades.[6] Tufts University has organized an elementary program around inter-group relations.[7]

Of the forty-nine projects which were examined by Mary Jane Turner, only ten included elementary materials.[8] Six similarities were analyzed in all of these curriculum projects:

1. An attempt was made to select and organize content in terms of fundamental concepts, propositions and questions that structure the inquiries of scholars in the field.

2. Instruction was more realistic and included controversial subjects, such as political aspects of race relations, the relationship of social class to political behavior and the conflict associated with social change.

3. Each of these projects had an objective of increasing student capability to organize and interpret formation.

4. Each project included attempts to teach students to make warranted factual and value judgments.

5. Students were encouraged to seek knowledge, not be the passive recipients of information from the teacher.

6. The projects are purportedly designed to influence students to value careful appraisals of ideas, to respect constructive criticism, to protect himself against indoctrination and blatant propagandists.

The report of the Political Science Advisory Panel to the Statewide Social Sciences Study Committee published in December of 1967 advanced the same ideas as stated above.[9] One section, of interest to this study, deals with the teacher and emphasizes that the social science teacher needs support from a strong intellectual community in order to overcome the prevailing feeling that the teaching of controversial issues is not sanctioned by parents.[10]

A recent statement published by Fannie R. Shaftel, an expert in elementary education, is so significant and so timely to this study that it bears reproduction. Any attempt to paraphrase it loses essence.[11]

"The Elementary Social Studies We Need

I see all around me signs of a better world that is ready to be born. The clear rejection of war as a solution to human problems, the seeking of values

other than material gain, the reaching across ancient fears of difference to a seeking of our universal humanity, are signs of hope. The real problem is whether we have the courage to be truly hopeful.

WE MUST PROJECT A SURVIVAL CURRICULUM IN THE SCHOOLS. For the past few years the major thrust of the social studies has been to improve cognitive learning, with a high focus on "structures of knowledge" in the various social sciences and the processes by which that knowledge is acquired.

No one would question the need for appropriate social science content and for the development of conceptual thinking in children and youth. However, our problem of how to survive and grow into a humane community is not so much the result of lack of available knowledge as it is first of all a crisis in values. The priorities essential to survival demand a new ordering, based upon THE VALUING OF HUMAN PROGRESS RATHER THAN MATERIAL PROGRESS.

A social studies program for young children must first of all be concerned with key aspects of child socialization. The way an individual learns his way into society is crucial to the way he will internalize social science knowledge. Does he "do his own thing?" Or does he learn to express his individuality in a "caring community" that is sensitive to the human consequences of his various actions?

FROM THE VERY BEGINNING YEARS IN SCHOOL, THE SOCIAL STUDIES PROGRAM SHOULD BE PROBLEM CENTERED. Social science knowledge and processes should be introduced as means to solving problems of living. This does not mean that young children should be plunged into large societal problems but rather that they start with the everyday personal-social problems that impinge upon them in their own life-space.

If this problem-solving initially is focused on problems that have meaning for him in his personal life, the child learns to use cognitive information and affective information (his feelings and values) to solve his problems. Having learned to use his feelings intelligently in personally relevant situations, he can then be helped to become concerned about the feelings of the others who are affected by his decision. He learns that problems can be coped with logically and in caring ways.

A MAJOR FOCUS SHOULD BE ON COOPERATIVE TECHNIQUES FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIETY RATHER THAN ON COMPETITIVE

TECHNIQUES FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF ONESELF. In such group endeavors, which should be a persistent and developing strand in the curriculum, children and youth could be helped to progress in learning that 1) there are many differing perceptions of a problem; 2) there is more than one way to solve a problem; 3) WE LEARN THROUGH CONFRONTATION OF EACH OTHER'S VIEWS AND VALUES; 4) in real dialogue, we learn by truly listening to others' views; and 5) we learn through value clarification. It is only as we make our values articulate that we are in a position to examine them and improve them.

While young children, by virtue of their immaturity, cannot utilize these cognitive-affective processes equally well on all levels of a taxonomy, they can and do in rudimentary ways cope with all of them. They cannot only use the analytic mode in their life situations, they can synthesize their knowledge with teacher guidance, and even make policy decisions providing the content is based in their life experience, or at least in concepts rooted in personal experience.

ONE OF THE IMPORTANT VALUES IN THIS APPROACH IS THAT WHEN CHILDREN FIND THAT THEY HAVE RESOURCES WITHIN THEMSELVES (THEIR LIFE EXPERIENCES) WITH WHICH TO TACKLE THE AMBIGUITY IMBEDDED IN PROBLEM-SOLVING, THEY DEVELOP A SENSE OF COMPETENCE, A FEELING OF CONTROL OVER THEIR LIFE CIRCUMSTANCES. If we can establish this sense of competence early in life, our youth may not experience the sense of hopelessness that has led many to drugs and some to violence. We should enable students to move from the "personally relevant" to the "socially relevant."

It is in this sort of linkage that I see the appropriate use of social science content for young children. I see the values component as a product of an affective-cognitive mode of study designed to cultivate feelings and values based on a continual exploration, through problem-solving processes, of the consequences of choice.

I would place in high priority the use of those child life experiences that lead to the gradually deepening exploration of the critical problems of our time as the focal content of the social studies.

I AM SUGGESTING A CURRICULUM IN THE PRIMARY GRADES THAT BEGINS WITH THE SOCIAL DILEMMAS OF CHILDREN -- THEIR INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS, THEIR WANTS AND NEEDS, THE EXPLORATION OF THEIR ROLES IN HOME AND SCHOOL. FOR SIX-

YEAR-OLDS THE STARTING POINT IS "ME," AND GRADUALLY SHIFTS TO THE I-OTHER RELATIONSHIPS.

IN SIMILAR MANNER, WHAT IT MEANS TO BE DIFFERENT (PHYSICALLY, IN RACE, OR ETHNIC BACKGROUND, ETC.) CAN LEAD TO CROSS CULTURAL STUDIES OF HOW DIFFERENCES ENRICH THE WORLD, OR CULTURE AS A DEMONSTRATION OF THE MANY DIFFERENT HUMAN SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS OF LIVING.

As children in the middle grades become increasingly involved in group life, beginning with friendships and membership in small affiliative groups, this experience can become the springboard to more systematic study of group behavior. THROUGH MATERIALS THAT EXPLORE SMALL GROUP RELATIONSHIPS, CHILDREN AT EIGHT OR NINE YEARS OF AGE CAN BEGIN TO UNDERSTAND THE DYNAMICS OF GROUP RELATIONS; CAN BE HELPED TO ACQUIRE SKILLS FOR GROUP CONTROVERSY AND PROBLEM RESOLUTION; CAN BEGIN TO STUDY THE USES OF POWER IN GROUP LIFE.

What is needed is a clear commitment to the development of survival curricula--to experiences that will help children and youth to develop the capacity to care about human welfare; that will give them knowledge of the social problems to be solved and the skills for that problem solving; and that will build in them the ability to articulate and continually clarify the values basic to a humane community.

Teachers may question whether or not a school can get away with presenting conflicting or controversial views. If the community understands the rationale behind such activities and if the activities are done skillfully, it is probable that the public will support such a program.

Paramount to skillful handing of controversial issues is the teacher's ability to handle a rational analysis of public issues. It is at this point that the full circle of the education community becomes involved. First, there must be acceptance of the kind of program needed in civic training by teacher education institutions. If professors of education

believe that central to the teaching of social studies is the rational analysis of current problems, then such methodology as permits such teaching must be taught. Teacher education institutions must stress and motivate teachers to be active in the political process themselves. Teachers must become involved in the process themselves. It would be ridiculous to merely give lip service to all of the above. Rather, courses in analyzing public issues should be part of the curriculum for teachers. Courses should be taught in systems analysis and maintenance. An analysis of the community in which the teacher finds a position would be possible if the teacher understood the process of community power structures.

It is hoped that teachers in training would be expected to take part in political campaigns of significance to them. It is a finding of this study that the earlier the political involvement of the teacher, the more active he will be in community politics in later years. Thus the teacher can serve as a good example of a political activist to his students. It would be expected that teachers would normally play an important role in the political party which could best serve their interests. They would exert pressure on their representatives to make quality education the top national priority. Such political pressure could result in legislation granting more money for educational research, which in turn could give us more information about how people learn.

In the interim the professional organizations of teachers could concentrate upon protecting the rights of teachers to participate actively in education and community politics. Since the child is the recipient of whatever "good" or "bad"comes from classroom activities, such an approach would in the long run benefit the child. If the political socialization process which takes place in the elementary school prepares the student for becoming an active and rational participant in his society, the evils of apathy and alienation can at least be lessened if not eventually eliminated.

Critique of Methodology

The main criticism of the methodology used in this study is that the McClosky Scale may not be as valid today because of the increasing emphasis upon change in contemporary thinking. Even though McClosky's scale does not purport to measure specific issues and should therefore be valid for any period of time, it is conceivable that the most conservative teachers would be loathe to answer that he was against change, which too many of McClosky's questions seem to indicate. For this reason it is possible that another scale be constructed or this one modified and tested.

Another problem in such a study as this was that the teachers rated themselves as to the degree of political activity they have experienced in the community and in

education politics. One cannot be certain as to what construction one may place on definitions of degree or upon the meaning of "politics."

Since follow-up interviews were impossible it is not certain how teachers might have interpreted Edgar Litt's definitions of models of civic training. Error in interpretation could make a tremendous difference in the way in which a teacher might have answered a question regarding harmony and consensus or group conflict.

Recommendation for Further Research

It would be of interest to follow this study with emphasis upon specific curriculum development in the elementary social studies and in teacher education. Specifically, the following topics might be studied further:

1. Implications for professional education organizations in supportint the study of a more realistic approach to political science.

2. Implications for teacher education in the choice of students entering the teaching profession in the field of social science. Should a person who is not interested in political activity teach?

3. Development of field studies for teacher education candidates in community politics and education politics.

4. The integration of the elementary and secondary curriculum as a result of the suggestions of the American Political Science Associations' study on elementary and secondary curriculum.

5. The interrelationship of function and political behavior in the political science curriculum.

6. Additional study on the attitudes and political behavior of teachers in national, state and local elections and in professional organizational work.

Summary

The role of the teacher in the political socialization process includes choosing materials, selecting and teaching concepts which will enable the student to develop knowledge about the political functions of the individual citizen. How a citizen functions in our society is seldom taught in the elementary curriculum. Rather emphasis is on socializing the student to the present system, which implies that the schools play a conservative role in the political socialization process. Such a role is not sufficient to enable the student to deal with the problems of the modern society. Thus the entire education profession must be aware of the need for a more functional analysis and the concomitant dangers resulting from the study of controversial issues. The teacher must be an example of the citizen who participates and who understands the power structure of our society. He must be free to help the student to examine old values and to consider new ones. Such a role is inhibiting to the teacher who wishes to play it "safe." For this reason, teacher education must prepare teachers of the social sciences who are skilled practitioners in the art of politics themselves and who will feel secure in handling the kinds of issues which will permit analysis of the problems of modern society. Teachers need to feel secure and the sanction of a strong academic community as well as support for curriculum development from professional persons

in legislative roles will enable the teacher to develop the kind of program which in the future will have the sanction of parents and taxpayers. Such a curriculum will enhance an awareness on the part of students to the responsibilities which they face as future voters. It is the hope of most political scientists that a curriculum based upon reality will lessen student alienation and apathy.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER V

[1] Donald Oliver and James Shaver, Teaching Public Issues in the High School (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1966).

[2] Oliver and Shaver point out the impossibility of proving such a value as that of protecting the human dignity, or even defining it, but in so advocating such a concept there appears to be a fundamental commitment to belief in man as an end in himself.

[3] V. Phillips Weaver, "Law and Order: Conflict and Dissent in the Primary Grades," Social Education, 35 (May 1971) pp. 499-502. Social Education is publishing more articles concerning the elementary teacher. The National Council of Social Studies is planning additional seminars at their conferences for elementary teachers.

[4] Mary Jane Turner, Materials for Civics, Government and Problems of Democracy: Political Science in the New Social Studies (Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Education Consortium, 1970), passim.

[5] American Political Science Association Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education, "Reports of American Political Science Association Committees: Political Education in the Public Schools: The Challenge for Political Science," P S (Summer 1971) 432 - 57, p. 452 - 3.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] California State Department of Education, "Report of the Political Science Advisory Panel to the Statewide Social Science Study Committee," (Sacramento, Calif., State Department of Education, December 1967), passim.

[10] Ibid., p. 177.

[11] Fannie R. Shaftel, "The Elementary Social Studies We Need," The Social Studies Professional 17 (January 1972) p. 3 - 4.